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International Information Series

BRITISH EMPIRE SECTION.—VOLUME V.

CANADA

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

By

PERCY HURD

Joint Author of "The New Empire Partnership: Defence, Commerce,
Policy"; Author of "Next Steps in Empire Partnership," etc.



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CHAPTER I

FORBEARS AND FOUNDATIONS

MANY factors combine to give Canada a distinctive place in the group of autonomous nations within the British Empire, and foremost among these factors is the character of her population. Australians and New Zealanders look to the United Kingdom as their country of origin; South Africa is predominantly Dutch; while Canada, historically considered, is the child of the two most progressive and democratic peoples of the Old World, the United Kingdom and France, and she draws much from each. French and English overseas fought their honourable conflicts and then formed together the Canadian confederacy; French and English in Europe, having also wiped out old scores, are now knit together in amity and allied effort. Geographically the Dominions of Australasia and South Africa stand more or less in isolation, but the position of Canada alongside the most populous and in some respects the most progressive of all English-speaking nations has had a profound effect in both modifying and intensifying the original French and British characteristics of her population. Yet the Canadian type is distinct. It is becoming as clearly marked off from the British or American types as the French is from, say, the Italian. But with these influences—French, British, and American—continuously at work in moulding the character of her people, and with a climate and natural fertility well suited to the home of a vigorous and prosperous community, it would be strange if Canada did not make a place of her own and a place of leadership among the younger nations of the world,

The particular place of Canada in the British commonwealth of nations is well expressed by that veteran Colonial Office administrator, Sir Charles Lucas, when he says that of all the provinces and partners of the Empire, not excluding India, Canada stands out as most distinctively what may be called the Index state. "In the past of Canada can be found all, or well-nigh all, the elements and features which make up and characterize the past history of the Empire. From Canada of to-day, more than from any other part of the whole which includes Canada, we gain indications of our possible or likely future."¹

The evolution of the Canadian population may be divided, quite roughly, into four stages.

First, of course, were the Indians—Algonquins, Hurons, and Iroquois. Having never seen Europeans before, these natives welcomed French and other explorers, notably Jacques Cartier in the reign of our Henry VIII, and attributed to them divine and supernatural gifts. The activities of these explorers among the Indians made a beginning for industrial Canada, in that the forts they created for defence became depots also for the fur trade.

Thus we enter what may be called the second stage of Canadian evolution—the stage of French and British colonizers, concessionaires, and fur traders. Among the French, Samuel Champlain stands out as the father of the purely French colony which the victory of Wolfe at Quebec brought to an end in 1759. His Company of a Hundred Associates was partly missionary and partly commercial in its objects, and held from the King of France power over a vast stretch of country from Hudson Bay to Florida, with rights of trading and fishing and the obligation to settle 6,000 colonists within fifteen years and to provide them with a sufficient number of clergy. He founded Montreal, and the Jesuit missionaries had before 1660 traced the waters of Lake Erie and Lake Superior and had seen Lake Michigan. But several small settlements and a few ports were all that there was to show after a hundred years of the Empire of New France. Even by 1688 the French census showed only 11,249 colonists in the

¹ "The Jubilee of the Old Dominion," *Cornhill Magazine*, July 1917.

country, while to the south the twelve oldest English colonies possessed at that time a population of 207,000. The next seventy years were filled with border-raids and ceaseless strife between French and English. Canada became one of the chosen battlefields of Old England and Old France, until by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 France ceded the country to Great Britain, and the 65,000 French Canadians became British subjects on honourable terms. But far larger than the Canada taken over from France was the Canada of the prairies and the Pacific slope, which came to the British Empire chiefly in virtue of the trading activities of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The position in which Canada stood at the end of this second stage of her evolution has been depicted for all time by Francis Parkman, when he says :—

“ One vast, continuous forest shadowed the fertile soil, covering the land as the grass covers a garden lawn, sweeping over hill and hollow in endless undulation, burying mountains in verdure, and mantling brooks and rivers from the light of day. Green intervals dotted with browsing deer, and broad plains blackened with buffalo, broke the sameness of the woodland scenery. Unnumbered rivers seamed the forest with their devious windings. Vast lakes washed its boundaries, where the Indian voyager, in his birch canoe, could descry no land beyond the world of waters. Yet this prolific wilderness, teeming with waste fertility, was but a hunting-ground and a battle-field to a few fierce hordes of savages. Here and there, in some rich meadow opened to the sun, the Indian squaws turned the black mould with their rude implements of bone or iron, and sowed their scanty stores of maize and beans. Human labour drew no other tribute from that inexhaustible soil. So thin and scattered was the native population, that, even in those parts which were thought well peopled, one might sometimes journey for days together through the twilight forest and meet no human form. Broad tracts were left in solitude.”¹

“ At the very moment when the Old World was ready to overflow the New World was empty to receive it. Had

¹ Francis Parkman, “ History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac.”

America been peopled as China is peopled, the Europeans might have founded some settlements, but could never have taken possession of the Continent." ¹

The third stage of Canada's evolution was the hundred years of political struggle to overthrow the traditional conception of a colony as a mere annexe of the Motherland. Under that conception Canada existed not so much for the benefit of its people as for the benefit of the English trader. But Canadians, while proud of their British citizenship, had ideas of quite another kind, and the struggle in its acutest stage did not end until the advent of Confederation in 1867 established full responsible government throughout the Canadian half of the continent and provided Canada with the means of developing her own resources and industries. The hundred years brought to the Canadian population new elements of enormous value. Rather than desert their British allegiance, thousands of United Empire Loyalists left the United States at the time of its independence and sought new homes in Canada under the flag of their forbears, and in 1791 the existence of separate races in Canada was formally recognized by the division of the country into two provinces, the Lower and the Upper, Upper or English Canada having only 20,000 people and Lower or French Canada 130,000. Early in the nineteenth century the bold colonization scheme of Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, brought hardy Highlanders to the Far West. They aspired to found another Highland Province in the heart of North America, and thus began the prosperity of Manitoba and the vast prairie region. The influx of British immigrants into Eastern Canada went on slowly but steadily; between 1850 and 1878 as many as 684,542 strangers settled in Canada and brought with them new ideas and the broadened political situation which led up to the full federal development of 1867. Thus the foundations were laid of a compact Canadian nation from Atlantic to Pacific, among whom what Burke called the "spirit of the English constitution" had free play.

It is with Canada a nation and partner State of the Empire, the fourth and present stage of the Canadian evolution, that this volume is mainly concerned.

¹ Sir A. Conan Doyle, "Through the Magic Door."

The total population increased at the rate of 34 per cent. in the decade 1901-11, and is now placed at about 8 millions, of whom about $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions are French-speaking Canadians. This is declared to be the largest rate of increase in the world, and is due to the tide of immigration, especially from England and the United States, which set in with the beginning of the present century. The greatest relative increase is in the Western Provinces, especially Saskatchewan and Alberta. Yet the density of population in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia was shown by the census of 1911 to be only 2 per square mile; for all Canada the figure was 1.93 per square mile, calculated upon a total of 3,729,665 square miles. The corresponding figure for the United States was 30.69, for the Argentine Republic 5.99, for Australia 1.53, and for New Zealand 9.63.

The increase in the town population is one of the most striking disclosures of the last Canadian census. The total population was divided into 3,280,964 urban and 3,925,679 rural, and the rates of increase during the decade 1901-11 were 17 per cent. rural and 62 per cent. urban. Among the rural population the female element is in defect by $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and amongst the urban population by only 5 per cent. The defect is most marked in the Western Provinces.

Ten per cent. of the population of Canada at the time of the census was foreign-born. The United States supplies Canada with most of her foreign-born immigrants, the entries in 1912 and 1913 exceeding one hundred and thirty thousand in each year.

CHAPTER II

STRATEGIC POSITION, CLIMATE, AND RESOURCES

VOLTAIRE dismissed Canada in the contemptuous phrase "a few arpents of snow." To that great Frenchman it was a remote bit of France overseas for which France would be foolish to shed a drop of blood. To-day it is the home of a puissant nation of eight millions of people—two and a half millions of them speaking French as their mother-tongue—and from the once remote "acres of snow" there has now come overseas to the help of Voltaire's own country of France in her direst hour of need an army of some 350,000 men, a force about five times as great as the British army which Wellington brought to the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo.

Voltaire did not realize as we can do how much Canada owes to her geographical position and her climate. Having, like a young giant, bestridden the continent to the Pacific, Canada stands to-day as a "half-way house of Empire." Her steamships on two oceans and her railways across eight provinces form the chain of all-British communications which carries the man of arms, the man of commerce, and not a little merchandise between Europe on the one hand and Far Eastern countries and Australasia on the other. The dream of the daring men of Portugal, Spain, Holland, and England through many generations has come true, though not in the way they anticipated. The Western route to the fabled riches of China and the Indies has been found not by the North-West Passage and open Arctic seas, but by the Canadian Pacific Railway; thus steam and her own irresistible self-confidence have enabled modern Canada to accomplish what the boldest of the Elizabethan

captains, Sir Martin Frobisher, declared to be "the only great thing left undone in the world." The Pacific cable has followed the steamship across the Pacific, and now that the World War has opened up a new intimacy of politics and commerce between the States of the British Empire, East and West, and between them and Japan, Canada must reap increasing advantage and importance from her strategic position on one of the world's most secure routes. Canada is the one and only province of the Empire which has a seaboard on both the main oceans of the world.

Canada also owes much to her climate. The severity of the winter in most of the provinces puts a premium upon industry and tends to freeze out the unfit in man and beast and plant. The "tramp" and the "Weary Willie" have a hard time in Canada, while the abundance of sunshine almost all the year round gives a new zest to profitable toil. Vigorous effort is natural in such a climate. One of the crofter emigrants from the Cathcart estates in the North of Scotland was asked how he, who was persistently shiftless and careless in his old Scottish croft, managed with his own labour alone to keep his Manitoba farm so neat and tidy. "One never seems to get tired in this air," was his reply. The electric atmosphere of the North-West gives a stimulus entirely lacking in the moist enervating air of the Hebrides. For nine months of the year, in most parts of Australia, one can sleep without discomfort under the open sky; there are nearly nine months in Canada when some provision for shelter is a necessity. As Dr. George Parkin has shown, a climate like that of Canada, severe for lengthened periods even while it is exhilarating, tends to drive men back on home life and on work; it teaches foresight; it cures or kills the shiftless and improvident; and history shows that in the long run it has made strong races.

Moreover, the climate of the greater part of Canada tends to erect a permanent barrier against the influx of weaker races. Canada has no black zone with problems of negro citizenship such as those which vex the United States, and it has small attraction for the less progressive races of Southern Europe.

But though these remarks upon the climatic conditions of Canada apply to the greater and the increasingly predominant part of the Dominion, it is to be remembered that Canada has not one but many climates. The exact position is well summarized thus by the Dominions Royal Commission (1917): "The climate of most of British Columbia is like Southern England, only with more brightness and more rain. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan the cold is severe for a part of the winter, but the dry air and the large proportion of sunny days modify conditions materially. In summer there are occasional extremes of heat, but generally cool nights. The climate of Alberta, again, is much milder, owing to the prevalence of the Chinook winds which reach it from the Pacific Ocean. In Northern Ontario and Quebec the winters are long, the snow is abundant, and the degrees of frost occasionally run very low. The average winter weather, however, is healthy and agreeable. In Southern Ontario the winter is comparatively short and mild. In both Provinces the summers are pleasant, with occasional short spells of extreme heat. In the Maritime Provinces the moderating influence of the sea is felt; there is more moisture and fewer extremes of heat and cold. One generalization, however, can be made, namely, that excepting its extreme north, all the districts of Canada are admirably suited to the health conditions of the European, and to the production of a splendid and vigorous race."

When we set ourselves to estimate the natural resources of Canada, we at once become conscious of the greatness of the unknown. The approximate size of the Roman Empire was 1,400,000 square miles. Canada's boundaries enclose nearly 4,000,000 square miles—and so great is its breadth that, in the words of Sir Robert Borden, "If you could pivot Canada upon its eastern seaboard it would cover the northern part of the North Atlantic Ocean, the British Islands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, the northern half of France, the German Empire and a considerable portion of European Russia." But, whereas at the height of Rome's prosperity there were 85 millions of people in the Roman world, there are only 8 millions of people upon Canada's threefold greater area. It is natural

to compare Canada and the United States. When Canada is populated with a density proportionate to the United States her population will be over 100 millions instead of 8 as now. The British Isles might be placed thirty times over within the limits of the Dominion; and the Canadian population would be 1,400 millions if it were of the density of the population of the United Kingdom.

Canada now stands fifth among the wheat-producing countries of the world, but less than one-fourth of her suitable area is as yet occupied as farm land. This available area in the nine provinces (i.e. excluding the unorganized North-West Territories and the remote Yukon) is 441 million acres, and that constitutes about three-tenths of the whole—the other seven-tenths (i.e. 950 million acres) are forest, mineral, and other areas not regarded as suited to agriculture now or in the future.

The wheat potentialities of Canada are better realized if we glance at the position in the three Prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Theirs is the land upon which is based Canada's claim to be the "granary of the Empire." Yet the occupied farm lands of these three provinces form only 21 per cent. of their possible farming lands, and out of a total of about 60 million acres of occupied farm lands only 12 millions are under wheat according to a recent return. These 12 million acres produced in 1915 342 million bushels. Let us assume that half only of the remaining 50 million acres come under wheat crop, then the total wheat yield of prairie Canada at the same rate of production will be 1,100 million bushels. Now the wheat yield of the United States averages 900 million bushels, and that of the Argentine is under 200 million bushels. The wheat that the United Kingdom imports from overseas yearly is 230 million bushels, or about one-fifth of the production of the Canadian West as we may expect it to be in the not distant future.

The Red Fife variety of wheat has made the fame of Western Canada. It is a spring wheat remarkable for its productiveness and hardness and strength, and therefore most serviceable for the purposes of the baker in that its high gluten content yields a better loaf than "weak"

wheats yield. But continuous efforts have been made to improve upon the Red Fife, especially in the way of larger yields and earlier ripening to avoid summer frosts; and in September 1917 the Canadian Minister of the Interior reported that a farmer at Gleichen, Manitoba, had produced 80 bushels of wheat per acre on his farm from a new variety which is a cross between Preston, Marquis, and Red Fife. The Canadian average for all wheat ranged from 14.89 bushels per acre in 1910 to 28.98 in 1915. The same authority reports that in September 1917 a farmer of Birtle, Manitoba, won the "World's Championship" at the Peoria Fair, Illinois, U.S.A., with half a bushel of his Manitoban wheat. In 1914 the championship of North America went to Marquis wheat grown at Rosthern, Saskatchewan. The tendency of wheat-growth in the United States, Canada, and the Argentine has been westward, and it is an especial advantage of Western Canada that it lies farther north than the other wheat regions. Thus in 58.5 degrees north latitude sunshine becomes as much as 18 hours per day in the summer season; and Dr. William Saunders, the highest authority upon Canadian agriculture, reported in 1908 that some of the finest wheat he had seen came to him from Fort Vermilion, north latitude 58.4, in sub-Arctic regions. The wheat which won the first place at the World's Columbia Exposition in 1893 was grown in the Peace River Valley, the most northern boundary of Alberta.

Oats come next to wheat among the grain crops of Canada. The Dominion produced, on the average, 343,000,000 bushels per annum in the period 1910-14, and now ranks as the fourth oat-producing country in the world, though her exports of oats are usually much smaller than are those of wheat. Other grain and field crops are also produced in considerable quantities, notably potatoes, beets, carrots, turnips, barley, flax, hay, and clover. The live stock industry is as yet in no way commensurate with the natural aptitude of the Dominion in soil and climate. There were 6 million head of cattle in 1914, or 1 million less than in 1910. At the last dairy census (1910) the make of butter was 201,800,000 lb., and of cheese 201,300,000 lb. The butter is practically all consumed in Canada; the export of cheese

averaged in 1910-14 no less than 165 million lb., of which 164 million lb. went to the United Kingdom.

The suitability of Canada for the raising of sheep and pigs has long been proved, but the attention of agriculturists has been so concentrated on cereal production that these branches of the agricultural industry have been little developed, although the number of sheep exceeded 2 millions and of pigs 3,400,000 in 1914. The number of horses in 1914 was close upon 3 millions. Of fruits the most notable Canadian production is apples, of which $1\frac{1}{2}$ million cwt. reached the United Kingdom in 1912, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ million cwt. in 1913.

Turning to the minerals of Canada, it is to be remembered that nearly 1 million square miles is absolutely unexplored territory. In the watersheds of Mackenzie River, for instance, which include 3,550 miles of natural riverway navigable for steamboats, nothing whatever has been done to exploit the resources of a region which is known to contain gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, iron ores, coal, gypsum, salt, oil, and gas, with, in all probability, other metallic and non-metallic products of importance. From the upper regions of the Peace River and the Liard River more than 1 million pounds' worth of placer gold has been extracted. Copper is known to occur in the form of copper sulphide near Great Slave Lake; Esquimaux report immense deposits of native copper in various localities; and ores of nickel and cobalt have recently been found on Athabasca Lake, in rocks similar to those of Sudbury, Ontario, which have assumed such enormous importance during the Great War.

One of the largest areas of possible oil-bearing country yet unexplored on the face of the earth is also in the Mackenzie Basin, where the rocks which are believed to be the source of this ore—the Devonian strata—cover an area of not less than 300,000 square miles. The Dominions Royal Commission says on this point: "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of this deposit, the exploitation of which cannot be long deferred, for the oil reserves of the United States are estimated by the United States Geological Survey to be sufficient at the present rate of output for only about thirty years, and no other part of the North

American continent gives such promise of new oilfields as the basin of the Mackenzie River."

The total mineral production of Canada for 1915 was of the value of \$138,500,000 (£28,500,000), the pride of place being occupied by the province of Ontario by reason of the gold of the Porcupine district, the silver of Cobalt, and the nickel of Sudbury. The following table shows the main details of the output.

TABLE 1.—MINERAL PRODUCTION BY PROVINCES.

(In Thousand £.)

	ONTARIO.	BRITISH COLUMBIA.	NOVA SCOTIA.	QUEBEC.	REST OF CANADA.	ALL CANADA.
Copper ..	1,400	2,000	Nil	200	Nil	3,600
Gold	1,700	1,200	Small	Small	1,000	3,900
Nickel.. ..	4,200	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	4,200
Silver	2,500	400	Nil	Small	Small	2,900
Coal	Nil	1,100	3,700	Nil	1,800	6,600
All other ..	2,900	1,200	Small	2,300	900	7,300
Total minerals	12,700	5,900	3,700	2,500	3,700	28,500

The principal minerals included in the balance of £7,300,000 in the above table were cement (£1,400,000), asbestos (£700,000), natural gas (£700,000), lead (£500,000), limestone (£500,000), bricks (£500,000), sand and gravel (£400,000), and pig iron from Canadian ore (£350,000).

Of the Porcupine goldfield in Ontario the Dominions Royal Commission confidently state that this field has before it "a long and prosperous life and Canada a most valuable asset." The Commission add: "No better proof of this could be found than in the fact that, apart from the shafts being sunk by new companies which have as yet no records, the present companies are all spending very large sums in developments and extensions by which they

expect to increase their output by from 50 to 100 per cent." British Columbia stands next in order of provinces by reason especially of its gold and copper production.

The mineral product that has attracted most attention of late by reason of its war usefulness is nickel. The deposits at Sudbury, Ontario, represent, in combination with the much smaller output of New Caledonia, a virtual monopoly of a metal which is becoming of ever-increasing importance in the national industries, and is an absolute necessity in the production of effective war material. The first estimate of the Dominions Royal Commission was that the proved reserves of ore, containing on an average $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of nickel and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. of copper, were not less than 70 million tons, but this proves to be inadequate, and there is reason to think that the resources will be found to be not much less than double this amount.

The coal deposits of Canada are estimated to amount to one-seventh of the world's known supplies, the estimates for Alberta alone being over 1,000,000 million tons. Nova Scotia's coal is used in the iron and steel works of Sydney ; it supplies the requirements, industrial and domestic, of the Maritime Provinces and of part of the province of Quebec, while a considerable amount is sold for ships' bunkering and also for shipment out of the Dominion. Fully half of the coal now raised in Alberta is bituminous ; there is a small production of anthracite, the rest is lignite or lignitic. British Columbia's coal is of good quality, being mainly bituminous or semi-anthracite, and in this province there are enormous deposits which can be easily and cheaply developed as soon as the demand arises. The fact that, despite these large coal resources, coal is imported from the United States into Canada at the rate of from 15 to 20 million tons a year is causing careful thought and scientific research to be devoted to the ascertainment of the best means of utilizing the vast lignite or lignitic coal resources of the Dominion for developing power and domestic purposes.

It is estimated that the iron deposits of Canada may be 200 million tons, and great hopes have been raised by the expectation that in portions of Ontario, particularly in the

area north of Lake Superior, there would be found hematite deposits similar to those in the adjacent States of Minnesota and Michigan, upon which the great iron and steel industry of the United States so largely relies. These expectations have not, so far, been justified by the results of exploration, but there is reason to anticipate that great developments will follow the further application of scientific methods to the treatment of the magnetites and sulphides of which a very large proportion of the ores consist. An immense deposit of ore in the Hudson Bay region appears to have only one fault, namely, the extraordinary amount of silica it contains, there being on an average quite as much of this as of metallic iron in the numerous samples analysed. The manufacture of pig iron in Canada is now mainly carried on with imported ores chiefly from the United States and Newfoundland.

The asbestos resources of Canada are also of value and importance. The mineral is especially abundant in the serpentine rocks of Quebec, and as it is indestructible either by fire or by acids, the demand is constantly and steadily increasing. The supply is only limited by the lack of available labour. Asbestos is woven into textile cloth, and is used for roofing, shingles, slates, the partition walls of houses, and wherever a certain protection against fire is wanted. Canada's present production is equal to 80 to 85 per cent. of that of the whole world; and while it is scarcely possible to estimate the whole supplies available, the Dominions Royal Commission do not doubt that they will enable the Dominion to maintain her present premier position for a very long time to come.

The Great War has emphasized the fact that the forest resources of Canada are one of the most valuable assets of the Empire. No adequate survey of their area and commercial value has yet been undertaken, but it is officially estimated that the extent of land covered by timber is between 500 and 600 million acres, or about a quarter of the land area of Canada, and that 250 million acres are covered with trees which may be used for sawing into timber. In addition there is the land covered with timber which is valuable as pulp wood,

The main distribution of the commercial timber throughout the Dominion has been estimated by the Forestry Branch of the Department of the Interior to be as follows:—

					Acres.
British Columbia	..	..	..	..	50,000,000
Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba	..	..	..	..	11,000,000
Ontario	..	..	..	..	70,000,000
Quebec	..	..	..	..	100,000,000
New Brunswick	..	..	..	..	9,000,000
Nova Scotia	..	..	..	..	5,000,000

The value of the forest produce of the Dominion has been estimated to be on an average about 37 millions sterling per annum, of which nearly 10 millions sterling worth is exported, mainly in the form of lumber, pulp wood, and paper.

Fisheries form another important feature of the economic life of the Dominion. The sea fish landed by Canadian fishermen reached in 1914 the value of nearly 4½ millions sterling, and this compares with the corresponding United Kingdom total of £14,700,000, that is to say, the value of the sea fisheries of Canada is nearly one-third that of the Mother Country. The sea fisheries employ 86,000 persons, and the inland fisheries 12,000, and after preparation for market the total value of sea fish and those taken from inland waters in Canada was increased to £6,900,000 in 1913-14. Some conception of the potential value of the Canadian fishing industry is given in the report of the Dominions Royal Commission. There are, for instance, very large areas which are hardly worked at the present time, especially the deep-sea fisheries off the Atlantic coast, the Bank fisheries off the Pacific coast, and the fisheries in the Great Northern Lakes and the waters of Hudson Bay, many of which are at the present time practically untouched. Moreover, the production of fish oil, fish glue, and fish fertilizers is at present very small, and the Commission declare that Canada should later on be able to develop a large subsidiary industry in these articles in the same way as Japan has done.

CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRY

It is the world's habit to think of Canada in terms of wheat ; Canadians proudly call their country the "granary of the Empire" ; and agriculture may be expected to remain the basis of Canadian economy. In 1916 the value of Canadian field crops was 845 million dollars out of a total primary production of the value of 1,241 million dollars.

The harvest is and will be for many years the bankers' barometer of national prosperity.

The predominance of agriculture in Canadian life is shown in detail in the following table of occupations taken from the last census returns.

TABLE 2.—WORKERS BY INDUSTRIES.

	1891.	1911.	PERCENTAGE OF WHOLE IN 1913.	INCREASE PER CENT. BETWEEN 1891 AND 1911.
Agriculture	735,207	933,735	34'3	27
Manufactures	227,080	491,342	18'0	116
Trade and Merchandising	109,632	283,087	10'4	158
Building Trades	185,599	246,201	9'0	33
Transportation	69,048	217,544	8'0	215
Domestic and Personal Service	139,929	214,012	7'9	53
Professional	62,623	120,616	4'4	93
Total employed in all industries	1,606,369	2,723,634	100	70

•It will be seen that the workers in manufacturing industries have increased by 116 per cent. in the twenty years, while those in agriculture have increased by 27 per cent.; but agricultural workers are still more than one-third of the whole working population. While in Canada one worker in every three is engaged upon agriculture, in the United Kingdom the proportion is one in every eight.

But we should fail to understand much that is happening in the political life of Canada, and her relationships with the United Kingdom and the rest of the world, if we continued to regard Canada as merely a primitive country, one of the wide spaces of the earth from the used portions of which Britain can draw her food and raw materials, especially food, in exchange for British manufactures.

Canada is in truth divided into four economic regions, and war conditions have tended to bring her other products besides wheat and foodstuffs into quite a new prominence in relation with the outside world, and especially with the rest of the British Empire.

These economic regions, as defined by Professor James Mavor, are:—

1. *The Eastern Fishing, Lumbering, and Mining Region*, comprising the Maritime Provinces, almost as a whole, the greater part of the province of Quebec, and a portion of Northern Ontario.

2. *The Eastern Agricultural and Industrial Region*, comprising the cultivated portions of the Maritime Provinces and the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, with Montreal and Toronto as their pivotal points.

3. *The Central Agricultural Region*, that is to say the huge triangular plateau which rests upon 800 miles of the United States boundary between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains.

4. *The Western Fishing, Mining, and Lumbering Region*, about 400,000 square miles, comprising the western part of Alberta, the whole of British Columbia, and the southern part of the Yukon Territory—in fact, both slopes of the Rocky Mountains and the valleys of the subsidiary ranges.

5. *The Northern Fishing and Hunting Region*, for the most part given over to indigenous nomadic tribes and unexplored in any systematic and industrial sense.

The first impression conveyed by this subdivision of Canada's economic areas is the incalculable possibilities for industrial expansion. In Canada's vast and almost untapped resources of fisheries, lumber, and minerals, from Atlantic to Pacific, as well as her agriculture, there is the natural basis of an industrialism comparable only with that of the United States.

The progress already made in Canadian industrialism is in some degree indicated by the last census of the principal groups of industries, though these figures do not of course reflect subsequent developments and, notably, the stimulus given to Canadian industrial production by the war needs of the Allies.

TABLE 3.—INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION.

(Census 1911 for year 1910.)

PRINCIPAL GROUPS OF INDUSTRIES.	ESTABLISHMENTS.	VALUE OF PRODUCTS.	INCREASE OF PRODUCTS, PER CENT.
	Number.	£ sterling.	1900-10.
Food products	6,985	50,505,000	96·2
Textiles.. .. .	1,444	27,935,000	100·67
Iron and steel products	824	23,360,000	225·8
Timber and lumber re-manufactures	4,999	37,955,000	129·8
Leather and its finished products ..	399	12,920,000	81·0
Paper and printing	773	9,550,000	124·94
Metals and metal products, other than steel	341	15,055,000	274·42
Vehicles for land transportation ..	465	14,325,000	249·06
Other industries	2,988	48,065,000	200
Total	19,218	239,670,000	142·38

The list is naturally headed by industries concerned in food products, the lumber industry comes next, and is

followed by textiles, iron and steel products and other metals, land vehicles, paper and printing and leather.

The fisheries of the Atlantic coast of Canada alone are of the annual value of £2,500,000, and that value is capable of almost illimitable increase. Their fish products helped to feed Canadian troops in Flanders in the Great War. It is a commonplace to say that under development according to modern methods the cod, haddock, herring, mackerel, halibut, and salmon fisheries of the Maritime Provinces would provide a cheap and welcome dietary for European populations to an extent beyond any present conception. Here, moreover, is one of the Empire's natural nurseries for seamen for her navy and mercantile marine. When we turn to the Pacific coast of Canada, we find that the fishing population consists largely of aboriginal Indians, Chinese, and Japanese; the Queen Charlotte Islands fishery is a Japanese enterprise. Upon this question of the development of the fish resources of the Empire, Mr. Alfred Bigland, M.P., now one of the Controllers of Supplies in the British Government, made some pertinent observations in the course of a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts in London on February 27, 1917. He said:—

“Although tremendous quantities are already landed and consumed in the United Kingdom, amounting to about 600,000 tons in 1913, these quantities might be greatly increased by extension of supplies and improved methods of distribution and storage. In my opinion there is almost certain to be a continuance of the high price of meat, especially beef, and a remedy is to substitute a larger proportion of fish than at present in the dietary of our peoples. The seas around our Empire teem with splendid fish. As a Canadian Blue-book well puts it: ‘To say that Canada possesses the most extensive fisheries in the world is no exaggeration; moreover, it is safe to add that the waters in and around Canada contain the principal commercial food fishes in greater abundance than the waters of any other part of the world.’ Yet in 1915, according to the same publication, there were only 48 steam fishing vessels, 1,236 sailing and gasolene vessels, 25,105 sail and row boats, 7,740 gasolene boats, and 431 carrying smacks engaged

in the Canadian fisheries. These do not include the figures for Newfoundland, in whose cod fisheries 2,000 schooners and 25,000 boats are engaged. Not the least important aspect of the fisheries question is the large consumption in other countries of cod, herring, and other fish, pickled and otherwise; for instance, apart from Germany and North European countries, large amounts are taken by Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. Under State auspices, and with a comprehensive system of supply and distribution, a huge world trade could be built up, and care would, of course, be taken to ensure that our Allies received the greatest possible advantage resulting from the increased supplies."

It may be of interest to note here that at the same gathering Mr. Moreton Frewen pleaded that the fisheries of Canada and the Empire generally should be nationalized, or rather, if the word may be permitted, *imperialized*. He said:—

"In the United Kingdom the gross yield on the £10,000,000 invested in the fisheries was more than £10,000,000 a year; while in Canada the gross yield was £7,000,000 a year on an investment capital of £5,000,000. In the United States also there was more than 100 per cent. gross return on the capital invested in fisheries. The capital of the British Isles was reckoned to be £14,000,000,000, and the gross return on that, excluding duplicate entries and imported raw material, was only 9 per cent., compared with more than 100 per cent. from our fisheries. He thought it was also fair that the State should be asked to encourage fisheries, because, while the individualist farmer cultivated his fields and reaped his own harvest, a very large part of the expenditure of money, both in the United States and Canada, on ocean fisheries was connected with operations such as hatching salmon and lobsters, and no individualist who was not a crazy altruist would hatch lobsters and turn them out in the ocean on the chance that he would benefit by their capture. The State must do those things. If cold-storage plants could be erected in every town, and we took advantage of the mighty harvest of the ocean to store during the months of abundance against the gales of winter,

and were the State given a profit of, say, 1d. a lb. on the sales of fish, the consumption would be very largely increased."

War activities have set Canada's lumber wealth in a new light before the world. Pit props for British mines; huts in which millions of troops have been housed in the British Isles and in Flanders and France; trench and dug-out supports under German fire; sleepers of the light railway lines which have revolutionized transport on the Western Front; and the purposes for which wood is needed in naval construction—in these and many other directions Canada's lumber resources have been of the greatest help in the war, and it becomes a matter of especial concern to develop these resources to the utmost extent, while at the same time learning from India, Germany, and other forest-possessing nations how to ensure the preservation of so rich a heritage. At the present time, according to the Report of the Dominions Royal Commission, Canada is estimated to have between 200 and 300 million acres of commercial timber, but the output of lumber is not more than that of Germany, where timber is cut on an area of only 25 million acres.

It is not enough that Canada should send her raw lumber to the United Kingdom and other markets. She sees that the British importations of timber and manufactures of wood from the United States are in the proportion of 4 to 1, while in the case of Canada the proportion is 60 to 1. Not until her manufactures of wood also become something like one-fourth instead of one-sixtieth of her wood exportations will Canada feel that her marvellous water power and other facilities for finished production are being put to their proper uses in the interests of the whole Empire.

Even more emphatic has been the moral as affecting their minerals which Canadians have drawn from the experience of the Great War.

Canada provided no illustration of the neglect of Empire resources quite so startling as that of Australian spelter, where it was found on the outbreak of war that there were contracts with German companies (for the most part with suspensory clauses in event of war) covering nearly the whole of the Australian output of copper, lead, and zinc. But the case of Canadian nickel is sufficiently illuminative.

Nickel is, of course, an indispensable material for the production of armour plating and munitions of war, and it is also very valuable for many articles of commercial manufacture. Canada produces about three-quarters of the world's supply of nickel. In a letter to a Canadian journal,¹ Sir Alfred Mond has pointed out with what difficulty successive British Governments were brought to give permission for the use in British armaments of the only nickel manufactured within the Empire. For many years the ores of the French possession of New Caledonia provided the largest source of supply. When the Ontario fields came under development in 1902, it took eighteen months of strenuous endeavour and preparation of armour plate at the expense of the producers to secure its consideration by the British departments concerned, "although," adds Sir Alfred Mond, "it would only be natural to expect them to manifest an eagerness to help a product entirely under the control of the British Government and manufactured within the Empire." As it was, the British and Dominion Governments had to enter into arrangements with United States refiners of Canadian raw material to supply the needs of the Empire in time of war.

The position is summarized as follows in the report of the Dominions Royal Commission: "Before the war the refining of the metal was, as we have seen, carried on entirely outside the Dominion, the matte produced by the International Nickel Company being shipped largely to the United States for that purpose, whilst that produced by the Mond Nickel Company was sent to South Wales. The control of a large part of the Canadian deposits by a United States company, and the manufacture by the latter of nickel and nickel alloys, gave rise to considerable agitation in Canada after the outbreak of war. The Canadian Government has, as we have shown, taken action to avoid the dangers which might arise from foreign control of the use of nickel ores, and measures have also been taken to secure the erection of refineries in the Dominion. The maintenance and development of this policy seems to us essential in the interests of the Empire."

¹ *Toronto Globe*, September 26, 1916.

The case of Canadian zinc may also be mentioned. It provides another illustration that the difficulty lies not in any deficiency in the output of ore within the Empire, but in the fact that the reduction processes have hitherto been carried on abroad. "Practically all the Australian zinc concentrates were sent before the war to Belgium or Germany for treatment, and the Spelter Convention which controlled the output of spelter before the war was mainly under German influences. The whole of the zinc ore from British Columbia was smelted in the United States. The position was that the United Kingdom produced only a fraction of its consumption of spelter, which amounts to about 200,000 tons per annum." Further, in Canada, a bounty for a limited period for the production of spelter has been provided by the Dominion Zinc Bounties Act of 1916, the object being to encourage the erection of electrolytic refining works. As a result of this assistance, and the great activity and perseverance of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company at Trail, British Columbia, already some 15 tons per diem of practically pure zinc are being produced, with a certainty of considerable extension of output later on.

Again, the deposits of asbestos in the Province of Quebec form the chief source of the world's supply. The importance of asbestos for the service of the war is obvious, and special measures had to be taken in Canada both to encourage the supply to the United Kingdom of the amount required for war needs, and also to prevent the large quantities which normally go to other countries from being re-exported for the war purposes of our enemies.

From Table 2, to be found at the opening of this chapter, it will be seen that the branch of Canadian industry which has shown greatest expansion as measured by the increase of workers is that of transportation. The increase in a decade is 215 per cent., as compared with increases of 158 per cent. in trade and merchandising, 116 per cent. in manufactures, and 27 per cent. in agriculture. This is natural when we remember that Canada is a land of great distances and transportation is essential to its national existence. Halifax on the Atlantic seaboard is 758 miles east of Montreal, the commercial metropolis of Canada, i.e. nearly twice the

distance between London and Edinburgh. Winnipeg, the emporium of the West, is 1,415 miles west of Montreal, or nearly four times the distance between London and Edinburgh, and another 1,000 miles west of Winnipeg lie the Rocky Mountains, the great barrier which, but for the railway, would shut the prairies off from the Pacific coast. Even then another 500 miles lies between the Rocky Mountains and Vancouver, the Pacific terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Nature has come to Canada's aid with a fine system of waterways, rivers, and lakes, which within and about the Dominion are said to contain half the fresh water of the world. Settlement followed inland the open gateway of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and proceeded up the great river to Ontario and the other Great Lakes in succession. That is to-day the main route of rail and water traffic eastward and westward. Thus the bulk of the wheat of the prairie regions passes as soon as possible after harvest to the lake ports of Fort William and Port Arthur, and is there shipped on grain vessels to Montreal for transshipment to ocean-going vessels; via Buffalo for shipment from New York; to Depot Harbour, Georgian Bay, Lake Huron, for conveyance by rail to the Atlantic seaboard at Portland, Maine. The six canal systems under the control of the Dominion Government in connection with navigable lakes and rivers open up a waterway of 1,594 statute miles, and carried 37 million tons in 1914. Of this traffic the Sault Ste Marie Canal alone carried $27\frac{1}{2}$ million tons, of which nearly 24 million tons was United States traffic. Canada's next great canal development will probably be the Georgian Bay Canal, which would open up a route for navigation 440 miles in length and effect a saving of 282 miles between Port Arthur and Fort William and the west coast of Lake Superior, as compared with the present St. Lawrence route, and 424 miles as compared with the route via Buffalo to New York. "To the Dominion of Canada the Georgian Bay Canal is a work of as extreme importance as the building of the Suez Canal was to the commerce of Europe, or as the Panama Canal is to the United States." ¹

¹ W. L. Griffith, "The Dominion of Canada."

Even more impressive is the railway development of Canada. Railways practically created Manitoba, brought Saskatchewan and Alberta into existence, and kept British Columbia within the British Empire. And when we depreciate our British foresight, let us recall that it was only with the aid of the money of English and Scottish investors that these things were made possible.

The extent of the railway mileage of Canada exceeds the mileage in all the other Dominions together. The system is different from that of Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, where practically all the railways are State owned. In Canada they are owned and operated mainly by private corporations, under the control, however, of a Government-appointed Board of Railway Commissioners. The chief corporations are the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, the Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Companies, and the Canadian Northern Railway Company. The Canadian Northern is now, however, passing into the hands of the Dominion Government, which has always owned the Intercolonial Railway connecting the Maritime Provinces with Quebec and Ontario.

Canada possesses 33,582 miles of railway; the United Kingdom has 23,701. The mileage in Canada has doubled since the beginning of the century and increased by 16 per cent. between 1914 and 1915. This last increase was due to the opening for traffic of large sections of the two new trans-continental railways. Recent railway development has been most marked in the provinces of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan and British Columbia. Thus since 1907 the mileage has been increased in Manitoba from 3,074 to 4,498, or by 46 per cent.; in Saskatchewan from 2,025 to 5,327, or by 163 per cent.; in Alberta from 1,323 to 3,174, or by 139 per cent.; and in British Columbia from 1,686 to 3,100, or by 84 per cent. The result now is that the grain-growing districts of the Prairie Provinces south of latitude 54° have become covered with a network of railways, whilst British Columbia has the advantage of three through routes to the eastern parts of Canada. The total capital cost of the Government railways was put at 293 million dollars (£58,600,000) in 1915.

In the case of the privately owned railways officially classified as being in operation, the capital stood at 1,876 million dollars (£375,000,000) in the same year. Towards the construction of these lines the Dominion and Provincial Governments and the municipalities have granted subsidies which by 1915 had reached 238 million dollars (£47,600,000), while guarantees to the extent of another 410 million dollars (£82,000,000) had been authorized by the Dominion and Provincial Governments. During earlier years of railway development in Canada, State aid largely took the form of land grants, amounting up to the end of 1915 to nearly 56 million acres in all from the Dominion and Provincial Governments. Of this amount the Canadian Pacific Railway Company received 27,786,921 acres, of which the company in 1916 still had available for sale 6,511,394 acres.

In their report the Dominions Royal Commission especially note the far-reaching enterprise of the principal Canadian railway corporations. "Not only do they operate railways but they also own and manage hotels, ferry services, grain elevators, lake and coast steamers, and in the case of the Canadian Pacific Railway, trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific steamers. Their railway construction and equipment seem solid and sound, and their locomotives and rolling stock of great power, strength, and capacity. It may be mentioned that, in the western sections, one company at least is using oil fuel for its locomotives to a considerable extent. The larger companies also assist in a variety of ways in the development of the Dominion. For instance, the Canadian Pacific Railway has started extensive irrigation schemes, and provides ready-made farms for settlers in the Prairie Provinces; it has also large interests in mining and other companies. Each of the larger corporations, moreover, carries on extensive propaganda for attracting immigrants to the Dominion."

Another essential factor in the evolution of Canadian industry is of course the Canadian banks. The banks have followed the settler and stimulated industrial development to the utmost limits of prudence. The greatest of Canadian banks, the Bank of Montreal, was established in 1817 with a capital of only 350,000 dollars (£70,000),

and at the end of its first year it set aside as a reserve 4,000 dollars (£800). Its issued capital is now 16 million dollars (£3,287,671), all paid up; its branches outside Canada include establishments in New York, Chicago, Spokane, and Newfoundland; its reserve is 16 million dollars (£3,287,671); its deposits were, on October 31, 1916, nearly 305 million dollars (£61,000,000), and its individual profits 1½ million dollars (£311,400). Next to the Bank of Montreal in importance stands the Canadian Bank of Commerce with a paid-up capital of 15 million dollars (£3,082,192), a reserve fund of 13½ million dollars (£2,773,972), and 377 branches in the various provinces. In the first year of Confederation, 1868, the number of the branches of all Canadian banks was 123; by 1916 it had become 3,160. In the same period the total assets grew from 80 to 1,596 million dollars (£319,200,000); the total liabilities from 45 to 1,352 million dollars (£270,400,000). The total at the credit of depositors in the Post Office and Dominion Government Savings Banks, which was little more than 1½ million dollars in 1868, was 54 million dollars (£10,800,000) in 1915.

Scotland supplied Canada with the best of her pioneer bankers, but the Canadian banking system is for the most part home-grown. Of it a well-known English financial writer has said: "Canada has indeed been fortunate in her banking legislation. It has been eminently practical, also eminently reasonable, and always adapted to the special circumstances of the country. Theorists and faddists have had very little to do with it. Except, perhaps, in the old provincial days there have never been rival banking schools in Canada. All parties have had a common desire to get what seemed best for the immediate purpose. Canadian bankers have had a greater voice in making banking laws than those of any other country. They have been frankly consulted as to every change, and their practical suggestions have always been welcomed, both by the Government and the Legislature. They, on their side, have kept a sharp look-out for operating defects, and have generally got them remedied before they could do much harm. Trade interests have been at all times honestly considered. Banking facilities have been provided for every

possible branch of trade, new or old, and for all classes of service, private and commercial. Per contra, there are few redundancies, and no out-of-date machinery in the system. Few banking laws are so frequently and carefully revised as those of the Dominion, and the revision is invariably done with a single eye to efficiency."

Three severe tests have been applied to the Canadian banking system in recent years, namely, the Western boom of 1905-9; the collapse of the general Canadian boom almost immediately prior to the outbreak of the Great War; and the test of the Great War itself, with its unparalleled strain upon Canadian finance and industrial and man power. If anything could find out the weak joints in an unsound banking system these events would. In the words of the English authority already quoted: "They exhibited a reserve power and a capacity of expansion which added not a little to their previous reputation. At the outset they excited admiration by the energy and rapidity with which they responded to the new demands suddenly sprung on them. At the finish they were no less admirable for the self-restraint they showed and the firmness with which they checked a great wave of speculation that might soon have passed out of control." 1

1 W. R. Lawson, in *The Bankers' Magazine*.

CHAPTER IV

THE MAKING OF A NATION

BUT "man does not live by bread alone." Much more than acres of wheat, tons of steel, and miles of railway go to make up the life of a nation that deserves to live. The larger test may be applied to Canada in two or three ways.

First of all, education. The passion for education which Englishmen took with them to the American continent has been nowhere more assiduously cultivated than in Canada. No sooner does a settlement begin to realize itself, however remote may be its location, than it sets to work to organize its free school—not a free school like the free school of England, which has been described as practically a free gift from the well-to-do who make no use of it to the poor who do. In her system of common schools Canada learnt her lesson in New and not in Old England. The Pilgrim Fathers in their early settlements decreed that "every township after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders shall appoint one to teach all children to read and write; and when any town shall increase to the number of a hundred families they shall set up a Grammar School." ¹ The Canadian free school is paid for by all classes and is used by all. "In a country like Canada, where class distinctions do not prevail to any appreciable extent, the poor but clever boy has precisely the same opportunity of improvement as the rich clever boy, and the rich brainless boy finds his own level with the other dullards of the school." ²

¹ Labberton's "General History."

² W. L. Griffith, "Dominion of Canada."

Canada spends over $53\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars (£11,000,000) upon public education, according to the latest available figures, and that is not far short of five times the amount spent in the first year of the century, 1901. About $1\frac{1}{4}$ million children attend school every day, and over 30,000 teachers are employed. Under the British North America Act, 1867, the right to legislate on matters respecting education was exclusively reserved to the provincial legislatures, subject to the maintenance of the rights and privileges of the denominational and separate schools as existing at the time of union or admission of provinces. In general there are two fundamental systems of education throughout Canada, one that of the Protestant communities, free from the control of religious bodies, and the other that of the Roman Catholic French and Irish communities, in which education is united with the religious teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. In Ontario, Roman Catholics have the right to form what are known as "Separate Schools" for elementary education, the local rates for the support of these schools being separately levied and applied. In Quebec, Saskatchewan, and Alberta similar provisions apply.

In all the provinces the cost of education is defrayed from the public revenues, provincial and local, and public elementary education is free to parents or guardians, except for certain small fees which are payable in parts of the province of Quebec. With the exception of Quebec, all the provinces have laws of compulsory education, but under conditions that differ as between one province and another. In general the provincial laws provide for uniformity in the training of teachers, the use of text-books, and the grading of pupils. Secondary schools or departments, and colleges or universities for higher education, exist under Government control in all the provinces, and the three classes of teaching institutions are more or less co-ordinated to allow of natural transition from the lower to the higher. School terms and holidays are arranged to suit climatic and other local conditions, so that it is frequently possible for wage-earning students to work their own way through college and the university. Arrangements for the super-

annuation of teachers are applied in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario.

Recent movements in the direction of nature study, manual instruction, school gardens, agriculture, domestic science, and technical education are all energetically in progress, and in the more progressive provinces the higher education of women is an important feature of university life.¹

The general educational results obtained under the Canadian system could not be better stated than in the words of that enlightened Anglo-Canadian educationalist, Dr. George Parkin, who says: "Great public spirit is shown in the maintenance of good schools, considering that in fixing expenditure much is left to be decided by public sentiment in each province and each school district. Government does not, as in Australia, maintain schools; it gives assistance on a scale graduated to the amount of local effort, and exercises a general superintendence. On the whole, the plan is probably the most efficient for a common school system, and in Canada it works well. It must be said that the not uncommon mistake is made in spending money more liberally on machinery than upon men. But educational appliances are very good.

"In the country towns the schoolhouses are almost invariably among the finest public buildings, the class-rooms are large, the sanitary arrangements of the best. In most of the cities the grading and organization of the schools are very complete, their danger perhaps lying in that excess of organization which tends to make teaching mechanical. In rural districts the village school forms no small part of the social system. In the Far West, as new areas are surveyed for settlement, provision is from the first made for education by setting aside certain sections of land in each township for school purposes. In newly opened districts, of course, the difficulty for the first generation of settlers lies in the sparseness of the population, but wherever a few children can be got together the means are provided for establishing a school. All towns of any size have good secondary schools.

¹ "The Canada Year Book" (Official), 1915.

"There is, therefore, no good reason why every Canadian child should not receive a fair education, or, if he has ability and perseverance, a really good one. The long winter lends itself to mental improvement. The lull in farm-work leaves the children of the family comparatively free, and it is at this season that the country schools are full. The transition from the best country schools to the university is not difficult, and for poor students is often bridged over by a period of teaching in the common schools combined with study. The scale of college expense is more on the level of what obtains in Scottish than in English universities.

"University education is making rapid strides, partly by means of public funds, but much more by private benefactions. The readiness shown by wealth to support higher educational work is one of the most satisfactory features of Canadian life at the present time."

McGill University of Montreal and the University of Toronto have won a place in the forefront of the universities of the North American Continent. Toronto University is dependent chiefly upon the State revenues of Ontario. McGill owes most to the munificence and leadership of wealthy citizens such as the late Lord Strathcona and Sir William C. Macdonald, whose benefactions to McGill alone amounted to many millions of dollars. Laval is the University of French Canada. In all there are twenty Universities in the various provinces of Canada, and before the war came to draw heavily upon Canada's teaching talent, their teaching staffs numbered 1,646, including 58 women, and there were 16,545 students, of whom 3,744 were females. Especially noteworthy is the practical direction given to higher education in Canada. The engineering and physics departments of McGill claim to be the most perfectly equipped in the world, and in no country is the science and practice of agriculture pursued with more zest and advantage than at the Ontario College of Agriculture at Guelph, at the Macdonald College near Montreal, and the Experimental Farms which are conducted by the Government in the various provinces and are of the greatest service in guiding the farmers in each section into better practices,

This generous and far-reaching educational system is especially vital to the future of a country like Canada, which during the five years before the war admitted immigrants at a yearly average of 330,000, mostly English-speaking people from the British Isles and the United States, but also including large numbers of Russians, Italians, Austrians, Hungarians, Germans, Galicians, and others who know no word of English, and have little, if any, conception of the meaning and value of British citizenship. Incomers from the United States are, as a rule, of a fine type, and speedily learn to appreciate Canadian citizenship, but foreign immigration presents many difficulties. It is above all else through the agency of the school that these new-comers, or rather their children, are turned into Canadians; and it takes great persistence and tact to make the agency effective. In Manitoba, for instance, it has until recently been necessary to maintain four sets of bilingual schools, English-French, English-German, Ruthenian-English, and Polish-English; and until recently it has not been possible to carry out compulsory education in the province.

Yet it cannot be doubted that Canada, and especially the agricultural West, will benefit from this mixture of races not less than England has done in years past from such incursions as that of the French Huguenots. Many of these new-comers to Canada bring great cultural resources from European countries which are the home of modern music, art, and literature. Interesting illustrations of this fact are supplied by Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, Director of the Bureau of Social Research for the Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. In visiting one of the mining towns in British Columbia he learned of the existence of a very fine band, every member of which was an Italian. "The presence of this despised group of 'dagos' was making life in this Canadian mining town much richer than it could have been if the population had consisted of Canadians only." In connection with the Winnipeg People's Forum, as many as seventeen foreign choirs and dramatic societies have assisted in the musical programmes during a single season. In Montreal the Y.M.C.A. has established a branch for Italians. The

favourite amusement is not billiards or baseball, but participation in vocal and orchestral entertainment.

In a Doukhobor village on the prairies of Saskatchewan even the tin water-spouts are clipped into grotesque figures reminding one of the gargoyles of the mediæval buildings of Europe. People thus imbued with artistic instincts will surely contribute much, if given an opportunity, to the richness of life in a crude young land. Already Icelandic is an optional subject in Manitoba University, and a knowledge of the old Norse sagas and the Vikings of the North is being perpetuated in the newest of new lands. Recently the Ukrainians petitioned that chairs of Ukrainian literature should be established in the western universities of Canada. Some Canadians received this petition as an indication of a desire to perpetuate a narrow nationalism in Canada. Others saw in it rather a longing not to lose a culture that is particularly rich in folklore and poetry.

It is related that when a group of Russians landed on Canadian shores they stooped and kissed the soil of the promised land, in which they hoped to give their children advantages they themselves had been denied in the home-country. Some of the poor Slavic peasants bear with them a small but precious bundle. It contains not gold or jewels, but a handful of earth from their native soil. When they reach the end of the long journey, loving hands will place this over their last resting-place.

“People,” says Mr. Woodsworth, “who are capable of such emotions and of the idealism of which such actions are symbolic, have in them the material of a worthy Canadian citizenship. The roughly clad, brightly kerchiefed old woman who bows reverently and kisses the floor of the little unpainted chapel back in the woods, may appear to some very illiterate and perhaps somewhat superstitious, but she has often a depth of devotion that, if wisely directed, would in time reveal itself in a higher type of public life in Canada. The flood of immigration is bearing with it rich deposits which may, if wisely directed, fertilize the barren places in the New World.”

These incidents and reflections are all the more important because the West must, by reason of its vast undeveloped

fertility and rapid growth under immigration, become more and more of a power in Canadian affairs. In the new Dominion Parliament there are 56 members from constituencies in Western Canada instead of 34, as in the last Parliament. It is of no small moment, therefore, that under wise educational and social guidance we may see repeated in Western Canada the enrichment which England has received at successive stages of her history from the entrance of other types of peoples into her national life.

There is no Established Church in Canada nor any connection between Church and State in the English-speaking provinces; and the Church of England has long since lost the position of privilege which it occupied in earlier days. About four out of every ten Canadians are returned in the census as Roman Catholics, and the faith of Old France is of course the faith of the province of Quebec. Next come the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Anglicans, and to each of these communities about 15 per cent. of the population adheres. In many of the cities the Churches wield an influence comparable only with their influence in Scotland. Especially in the rural districts is the church the centre of social life. Distance is no hindrance—families will often drive ten miles or more to religious service, and almost every week in the smaller towns some one or other of the denominations will hold a concert, tea-meeting, or supper. Though the fact is only realized with difficulty in a land of easily-won wealth and rapid material progress, it is especially from her Churches and Universities that Canada has yet to receive her greatest national impulse.

The entry into the Dominion Cabinet (October 1917) of the President of the Grain Growers' Association is a reminder of the power which the Western farmer is securing in Canadian life, and that power he owes to his proved capacity for co-operative effort. Farmers' organizations will in the autumn of 1918 have 500 grain elevators between Winnipeg and the Rocky Mountains, covering one-half of the "shipping" points of the West. By means of these elevators, aided by local legislation allowing banks to advance money on the security of wheat still in farmers' hands, the price of wheat will be kept more nearly on an even basis

all the year round, and the farmer will, it is anticipated, be given a new independence from the agents of mortgage concerns and implement-making combines. The farmers' own organization is now said to be able to handle 100 million bushels of grain with a normal crop. Moreover, the organized farmers of the West are showing similar co-operative activity in buying or producing what they need to use. For one season their orders of machinery are said to be of the value of 400,000 dollars (£80,000), with a saving of 10 to 30 per cent. on the purchase price; also 50 million pounds of binder twine supplied to the farmer at from 2 to 3 cents below regular prices. The organized farmers have also acquired a timber limit in British Columbia with a potential supply of from 20 to 30 million feet of lumber a year for twenty-five years. These co-operative activities are, many think, destined to transform the political and social life of the agricultural districts and give the farmer a much greater place in the direction of public affairs.¹

Wise men have said that the moral status of a nation may be judged by its treatment of its women. Let it be noted, then, that women are now enfranchised in six of the Canadian provinces, namely Manitoba (1916), Alberta (1915), Saskatchewan (1916), British Columbia (1916), Nova Scotia (1917), Ontario (1917), and in September 1917 Sir Robert Borden gave a pledge that if returned to power at the impending federal elections he would "place upon the Statute-book a measure granting the franchise to all women of British birth, and conferring upon women of foreign birth the right to seek and obtain naturalization so that they may thus become endowed with the same privilege after suitable residence in the country and, perhaps, after suitable educational tests. The same measure should provide that a woman of British citizenship shall not lose her citizenship upon marriage, except with her own consent." As a provisional measure—a practical and immediate recognition of the services of women in the war in every available capacity both in Canada itself and among the Canadian

¹ Mr. John Kennedy, Vice-President, Grain Growers' Association, Winnipeg, in the *Toronto Globe*, July 4, 1917

forces in England and in France—the War Time Election Franchise Act of 1917 provided for the enfranchisement of the near female relatives of soldiers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, including wife or widow, mothers, daughters, and sisters of all soldiers, and also gave the franchise to all members of the Canadian Overseas Force, including nurses.

Women are also eligible for membership of some of the Canadian legislatures. The Alberta Legislature has two women members, both “non-political non-party” members. It is especially interesting and suggestive to note that one of these women M.P.P.’s, Miss R. A. McAdams, was chosen in the election among Canadian soldiers and nurses in England and France in September 1917 for two members of the Alberta Legislature. The daughter of a Canadian editor, she had graduated in household economics at the Guelph Institute, Ontario, and before joining the Canadian Army Medical Service was supervisor of household arts in the public schools of Edmonton, Alberta. When elected she was a nurse at the Ontario Military Hospital at Orpington, Kent—a dietetic expert specially attached to the Canadian Army Medical Corps for the oversight of the feeding and dieting of Canadian soldiers. One-third of all the votes cast were in her favour, she being the only woman. With twenty-one candidates to choose from, the soldiers of Alberta, a province which many Englishmen still seem to regard as typical of the “wild and woolly West,” deliberately selected to speak and act for them in the Alberta Legislature this hospital nurse and a general secretary of the Canadian Young Men’s Christian Association at the Front, himself a graduate of Toronto University and a fine athlete. The selection and the overwhelming trend of the polling is sufficient indication of the practical idealism of the men who are bearing Canada’s banner in this war and also of the influences which after the war will more and more dominate the public life of Canada.

It should be added that as far back as 1892 women were allowed to study law and qualify for the Bar in the province of Ontario.

In considering this enlargement of the opportunities

of women in the public life of Canada, it should be remembered that there are 100 males to 88 females ; therefore not so many women are forced to be wage-earners as in England. Only 16 per cent. of Canadian women between the ages of 15 and 65 years are wage-earners, and women generally

TABLE 4.—PROHIBITION BY PROVINCES.

PROVINCE AND CAPITAL.	AREA, SQUARE MILES.	POPULA- TION, 1911.	" WET " OR " DRY."
Alberta (Edmonton)	255,000	375,000	Total Prohibition, July 1, 1916
British Columbia (Victoria) ..	356,000	392,000	Total Prohibition, July 1, 1917
Manitoba (Winnipeg) ..	252,000	456,000	Total Prohibition, June 1, 1916
New Brunswick (Fredericton)	28,000	352,000	Total Prohibition, May 1, 1917
Nova Scotia (Halifax) ..	21,000	492,000	Total Prohibition, June 30, 1916
Ontario (Toronto)	407,000	2,523,000	Total Prohibition, Sept. 17, 1916
Prince Edward Island (Char- lottetown)	2,184	94,000	Total Prohibition, June 4, 1901
Quebec (Quebec)	707,000	2,003,000	{ 84 % Prohibition, 16 % Licence
Saskatchewan (Regina) ..	252,000	492,000	Total Prohibition, Dec. 30, 1916
Yukon (Dawson)	207,000	8,512	Licence
North-West Territory ..	1,242,000	18,000	—

are given a high place in general esteem. Women with the necessary training, money, and leisure are few in a new and dominantly agricultural country, and owing to the scarcity and uncertainty of domestic servants most Canadian women have housework to do. Hence the tendency to a somewhat individualistic conception of their life and work.

But perhaps the most remarkable evidence in recent times of the moral impulses which increasingly animate the bulk of the Canadian people is to be found in the spread of liquor prohibition. From end to end of the Dominion it has been felt that among the sacrifices demanded by the war none was more insistent than the sacrifice of intoxicating liquors, so that, in the words of the Prime Minister of Ontario, "the whole manual strength and power and manhood of Canada may be conserved for the great struggle in which we are engaged." Every province, excepting alone Quebec, is now prohibitionist or "dry," and of the municipalities of even Quebec 97.5, or 84 per cent. of the whole, have adopted the policy of prohibition in regard to the liquor traffic, leaving only 16 per cent. under licence. Also of the fifteen cities of Quebec eight have abolished the sale of drink. The way in which the wave of prohibition has swept through the Dominion is shown in Table 4.

Moreover, Sir Robert Borden has undertaken (August 1, 1917) to amend the Canadian federal law so as to meet the requirements of the provinces in making their prohibition laws more effective.

CHAPTER V

UNDER TEST OF WAR

It was not German professors alone who predicted that a European war would scatter the British Empire to the winds and incidentally destroy the British citizenship of the Canadian people. Treitschke, as we know, weighed the British Empire in the balances and found it "over-rich and over-satiated," vulnerable at a hundred points. Another German writer, Dr. Ostwald, instanced Canada as one of these especially vulnerable points. He assumed that at the touch of the sword "the English dominion" would suffer a downfall similar to that which he predicted for Russia. But so little were the moving factors of Canadian life understood even in Canada itself, much less in England, that there were Canadians ready to agree with a British Cabinet Minister who a few years before the war ridiculed the notion that Canada would ever send a man or a gun to Europe in defence of a cause which British statesmen might decide to be vital to the existence of England and the Empire.

Yet we find that even before war was declared, when the cloud was gathering on the European horizon, Canada, acting through her Ministers, had already made up her mind. Secure on his own broad continent and sheltered behind the invincible British navy and the unchallenged Monroe Doctrine, the Canadian might have been satisfied to let the battle of Europe's freedom from militarism and Prussian domination be fought out by those whom it immediately affected. Canadian Ministers and the Canadian people argued in no such fashion. They stood under no written compact to fight or assist the Motherland; they would, no doubt, have been gladly recognized by the enemy, for the time at all events, as "neutral." But Canadian

Ministers knew no hesitation. They saw at once that this was a fight to the death between Tyranny and Freedom; not until Prussian militarism was overthrown could the world be safe for free peoples anywhere. Three days before war actually broke out Sir Robert Borden and his colleagues were pressing their aid upon British Ministers; and that was at a time when the British Cabinet was itself divided as to Britain's participation in the struggle. Canada's national life was fashioned on lines of peace; war was the last thing for which she was prepared; yet within four weeks from the outbreak of war 35,000 Canadian troops were in training at the improvised military camp of Valcartier, in the province of Quebec; gifts of flour and other food and hospital supplies poured into England from governmental and private sources in all parts of the Dominion; and within ten weeks the first and fully-equipped Canadian contingent had reached British shores.

This test of Canadian manhood reached its climax in 1917. Official figures show that on June 30th the total enlistments for the Canadian Expeditionary Force, up to which time service was an entirely voluntary affair, were 424,456. This enlistment was still 75,000 short of the 500,000 which, eighteen months before, in December 1915, Canadian Ministers pledged Canada to put on to the side of the Allies "in token of Canada's unflinching resolve to crown the justice of our cause with victory and an abiding peace." The undreamt-of expansion of Canada's munition work for the British, French, and Russian armies—she had sent forward 510 million dollars' worth of munitions up to June 30, 1917—made a heavy call upon the young manhood of Canada, as also did the maintenance of Canada's production of wheat and other foodstuffs for Allied uses. Moreover, the wastage of war made it a serious problem how to keep the four Canadian divisions at the front up to full fighting strength. The triumphs of the second Battle of Ypres—when, according to Sir John French, the Canadians "saved the situation" and rendered essential aid in barring the enemy's way to Calais—and the predominantly Canadian victories of Courcellette, Vimy Ridge, Lens, and Passchendaele, cost Canada dear. The total casualties to June 30, 1917, were no less

than 106,492. There was, in the third place, the knotty problem of the French Canadian. An analysis of the origins of the recruits, made at the end of April, when 312,000 men had left the Dominion in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, showed—

British subjects born outside Canada, almost entirely in the United Kingdom	155,095
Canadian-born English-speaking Canadians	125,245
French-speaking Canadians	14,100

Out of Canada's 8 millions something like $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions are French Canadians.

A return brought down to the Canadian Parliament in September 1917 carries further the analysis of the answer of young Canada to the test of war service. It shows the enlistment in the various provinces of the Dominion since the outbreak of war, together with the proportion of recruits required from each province in an army of 500,000 men, based upon their respective population. The figures are as follow :—

TABLE 5.—WAR RECRUITS BY PROVINCES.

PROVINCE.	ENLISTMENTS.	PROPORTION OF RECRUITS.
Ontario	173,078	170,213
Quebec	45,277	138,298
Maritime Provinces	38,200	65,957
Manitoba and Saskatchewan	79,779	70,213
Alberta	35,477	34,517
British Columbia	40,264	29,787
Yukon	2,327	—
Total	414,402	508,985

Thus it will be seen that Ontario has contributed 101 per cent. of the number which, according to the population, the province should contribute to the half-million men authorized. Quebec has contributed 32 per cent.; the Maritime Provinces 58 per cent.; Manitoba and Saskatchewan 112 per cent.; Alberta 102 per cent.; and British Columbia 137 per cent. The most remarkable feature

of this return is perhaps the eagerness with which the young manhood of Western Canada has thrown itself into the war beyond the proportional call. This is true even of sections of the West to which immigration from the United States has been chiefly directed in recent years. The Ontario figures are also remarkable, especially when it is recalled how great has been the call upon the manhood of Ontario for munitions, transport, and other essential civilian services.

Much might be said in explanation of the Quebec figures and the evidence they seem to present of the comparative lukewarmness of the French Canadian towards the Great War. The habitant is of his home and parish. Beyond that his horizon is of the dimmest. Old France has long ceased to mean anything to him; the British Empire is still little more than a vague geographical expression; Quebec he knows, and he asks only to be left alone with the privileges of race, language, and religion which are guaranteed to him and his province in the Canadian Confederation. But the Great War has come to try as with fire his fidelity to the Canadian nationality which ensures his freedom, and try also his capacity to occupy the larger place of Empire citizenship and nationhood towards which the English-speaking peoples of the whole Commonwealth of British peoples are steadily moving. In September 1917 the Canadian Parliament adopted compulsory military service, and even its opponents, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his Liberal supporters, have declared that, now that compulsion is the law of the land, it behoves all good citizens to fall into line.

The two decades before the war had been decades of gradually increasing comfort and wealth, especially for the professional and employing classes in Canada. Canada is in a sense the Scotland of America; and it was the comparative poverty of the Scottish people, together with their hardish climate, which did more than anything else to give to Scotsmen their qualities of leadership all over the world. The critic asked, Could Canada maintain the high Scottish tradition in the midst of transatlantic plenty? Would her idealism be crushed out by a hard and triumphant materialism? These questions are answered in a large

measure by the foregoing figures of Canada's voluntary rally in a war which was not of her seeking and in which she had no material purpose to serve. For further illustration turn to the records of the great Canadian seminaries. At the end of the third year of the war over 2,000 of the former students of McGill University were on active service. Two had won Victoria Crosses, while other decorations awarded included 91 Military Crosses (three with bars), 34 D.S.O.'s, 2 D.S.C.'s, 3 D.C.M.'s, 11 Military Medals, 1 C.B., 7 C.M.G.'s, and 122 mentioned in dispatches, besides a number of foreign decorations. Up to that date 201 former students had met death on active service, while hundreds of others had been wounded. The record of Toronto University is not less moving. The Principal announced in October 1916 that 3,000 graduates and undergraduates were on active service and 3,000 more were in training, while by May 1917 218 had been killed in action.

Two further illustrations may be taken from the lesser schools. Already in the spring of 1916 King's College, Nova Scotia, had upon her roll of honour in the war one lieutenant-colonel, four majors, fourteen captains, thirty lieutenants, and a still greater number of non-commissioned officers and men. "Those who were most advanced in their education went either into the army or navy; the younger students only remain." Of the old boys of Toronto College School, Port Hope, Ontario, a boarding-school run on the lines of the English public schools, 289 were serving with the colours at the opening of 1916 and many had been killed in action.

Beyond all question the English-speaking manhood has not shirked the supreme test, nor has the womanhood of Canada; for whatever the men did carried with it the whole-hearted support and sacrifice of the women in every form of Red Cross and hospital work. Men and women have freely given of their best, and of Canada it may be said, as has been said of England, "Our country, after all, was not so absorbed in the getting of wealth but that she was eager to pluck bright Honour from the jaws of death; she had not gone after pleasure so whole-heartedly but that she would give her heart and her strength to the

call and claim of Right. We can love her freely, because she has loved Honour freely ; we can say to her that we should not love her so much if we did not love Honour more, and if we did not find Honour in abiding in her company.”¹

But not less surprising to most outside observers is the part which Canadian industrialism has been able to take in the war. According to figures published at Ottawa in the middle of 1917, Canada had up to that date sent forward 510 million dollars (£105,000,000) worth of munitions and war supplies ; her total war expenditure up to that time was 622 million dollars (£128,000,000), and such was her industrial capacity that she was able to spend in Canada itself no less than 388 million dollars (£80,000,000) of this total. This most effective partnership in materials of war must profoundly affect the future policy of Canada and of the Empire as a whole, for we see in Canada as she has been revealed by the war something far more than a “ hewer of wood and drawer of water ” for the Mother Country. It will no longer do to frame Empire policy on the conception of a Dominion of wide spaces from the used fragments of which come foodstuffs and raw materials to be exchanged for the manufactures of the United Kingdom and other countries. Industrially as well as in a fiscal and political sense Canada is a nation.

Before the war not a single shrapnel shell was made in Canada, and in the whole Dominion only one small factory was turning out war material of any kind. In the third year of the war there were factories in every province from Atlantic to Pacific engaged night and day for the war needs of the Allies. The results of the driving power that brought Canada to her place as an industrial war force are almost beyond belief. Lieut.-General Sir Sam Hughes, as Canadian Minister of Militia, told the House of Commons at Ottawa on January 25, 1916, that already Canadian factories had turned out 22 million shells, which required in manufacture over 800 million pounds of steel, 45 million pounds of brass, 22 million pounds of copper, and 10 million pounds of cordite. An army of 90,000 skilled mechanics had been trained in industrial work, in addition to the army

¹ Ernest Barker, in *The Times*, April 3, 1915.

of 250,000 trained for fighting. More than 1,100,000 shells per month were then, he said, being shipped to Great Britain, and the cash value of the orders, representing new wealth to Canada, already totalled over 350 million dollars (£70,000,000).

A great impetus was given to the iron and steel and other industries of Canada by these special war activities. In addition, there have been established lead, cordite, zinc, brass, and copper industries in various parts of Canada, which, it is said, will furnish employment hereafter for at least 30,000 more skilled workmen. Thus it came about, the Minister said, that Canada was in a position to furnish zinc to Great Britain and Russia at 15 cents per pound, as compared with 42 cents per pound charged by the United States. Yet only a few months ago every bit of Canadian zinc was secured from the United States. Canada, as we have seen, supplies 75 per cent. of the nickel of the world, the nickel production which no longer depends alone upon naval armament or martial requirements. Nickel steel in various forms is used in a wide range of industrial operations as well as in the manufacture of ordnance and projectiles. Large quantities of plate were used in connection with the reconstruction of the Quebec Bridge, and nickel has entered into all sorts of railway materials, marine engines and propeller shafts, and a thousand and one lines of the manufacturing trades. Hitherto these Canadian nickel ores have been refined in the United States and the United Kingdom. Under the encouragement of the Canadian Government, the International Nickel Company of New Jersey has now established a refining plant in Canada.

British submarines have been built on the banks of the St. Lawrence during the war, and many millions of pounds' worth of war orders have been placed in Canada on behalf of the Allies for textiles and woollens, boots and shoes, harness and saddlery, rifles and ammunition, and hardware, to say nothing of tinned meats, canned foods, and other manufactured products. Indeed, we have it on the authority of the Hon. J. D. Hazen, then Canada's Minister of Marine, that, on account of the Imperial Government alone, shipping from Canada had to be provided at one stage of the war

for 125,000 gross tons of munitions and war supplies per month, or approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons per annum. And

TABLE 6.—CANADIAN EXPORTS OF CANADIAN FOODSTUFFS DURING THE GREAT WAR.

(Compiled from Canadian Official Trade Returns. Dollar = 4s. 1½d.)

	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.
	£	£	£
<i>Wheat</i>	15,300,000	35,500,000	50,200,000
Including United Kingdom..	13,600,000	31,600,000	39,800,000
United States	870,000	1,800,000	4,900,000
France	185,000	685,000	3,300,000
Italy	—	1,000,000	1,200,000
<i>Wheat Flour</i>	5,100,000	7,350,000	9,800,000
Including United Kingdom..	3,300,000	4,500,000	5,300,000
British West Indies ..	480,000	430,000	480,000
Newfoundland	280,000	350,000	510,000
United States	48,000	260,000	260,000
<i>Oats</i>	1,840,000	3,000,000	7,000,000
Including United Kingdom..	835,000	1,770,000	5,450,000
United States	315,000	130,000	290,000
<i>Barley</i>	670,000	780,000	1,600,000
Including United Kingdom..	520,000	660,000	1,500,000
<i>Flax Seed</i>	2,100,000	610,000	2,200,000
Including United States	1,900,000	600,000	2,130,000
<i>Horned Cattle</i>	1,900,000	2,600,000	1,600,000
Including United States	1,880,000	2,300,000	1,590,000
<i>Bacon</i>	2,400,000	5,300,000	8,900,000
Including United Kingdom..	2,300,000	5,250,000	8,800,000
<i>Cheese</i>	3,950,000	5,500,000	7,550,000
Including United Kingdom..	3,890,000	5,430,000	7,500,000
<i>Salmon, Canned</i>	1,020,000	1,300,000	1,290,000
Including United Kingdom..	830,000	1,014,000	1,007,000
Australia	79,000	123,000	77,000
France	18,000	80,000	129,000
<i>Vegetables</i>	390,000	780,000	2,500,000
Including United States	95,000	100,000	650,000
United Kingdom..	85,000	240,000	370,000

this from a country which three years before was classed as mainly agricultural and primitive.

Striking confirmation of this expansion of Canadian

industry under war conditions is supplied from Canadian official sources. The British official returns are mute on the subject, but the Canadian returns give complete details of Canadian contributions to the war needs of the Allies. We get first her supplies of foodstuffs and other animal and agricultural produce during the three war years. Whereas they were of the value of £47,000,000 in 1914-15, they rose to £108,000,000 in 1916-17.

The highest Canadian exportation of wheat and wheat flour before the war was of the value of £28,000,000 in 1913-14 as compared with the 1916-17 total of £60,000,000. In considering this enormous increase, allowance must, of course, be made for the great increase in prices. For instance, the market price of No. 1 Northern Manitoba wheat on the Baltic corn exchange was 35s. at the end of March 1914, and 82s. at the end of March 1917. But even when increased prices are taken into account the development of Canadian supplies is most striking. The quantities rose from 142,000,000 bushels in 1913-14 to 223,000,000 bushels in 1916-17. The expansion of the war-time sales of Canadian oats, barley, bacon, cheese, and vegetables is also most noteworthy.

But far more significant as illustrating the tendencies of Canadian national life are the statistics of the Canadian exports of munitions and other war material. Whereas in 1914-15 the Canadian exports of manufactures and of produce of the mine and the forest were £37,000,000, in 1916-17 the exports of these commodities, which consisted almost entirely of war material, were £127,000,000—a 250 per cent. increase.

It will be seen that the exportation of cartridges, explosives, iron and steel products (principally all for war uses), and gasolene launches, reached in 1916-17 a value of £71,000,000; that is to say, Canada in that year supplied the Allies with war material in these four groups alone equal to the value of the whole of her exports to them and all other countries of merchandise, foodstuffs, and manufactures in an average pre-war year. Putting the comparison in another way, it may be said that this supply of Canadian war material greatly exceeded in value the total British

TABLE 7.—CANADIAN EXPORTS OF CANADIAN MUNITIONS AND OTHER WAR MATERIAL DURING THE GREAT WAR.

(Compiled from Canadian Official Trade Returns. Dollar=4s. 1½d.)

	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.
<i>Cartridges</i>	£ 45,000	£ 15,200,000	£ 49,400,000
Including United Kingdom..	24,000	15,000,000	49,000,000
United States	20,000	3,000	390,000
<i>Explosives</i>	55,000	1,455,000	8,400,000
Including United Kingdom..	10,000	1,350,000	6,300,000
United States	33,000	52,000	1,550,000
<i>Iron and Steel and Manufactures of</i> ..	3,000,000	11,200,000	10,100,000
Including United Kingdom..	1,200,000	7,200,000	5,300,000
United States	610,000	1,100,000	1,700,000
<i>Gasolene Launches</i>	—	30,000	3,100,000
Including United Kingdom..	—	29,000	3,100,000
<i>Copper, Fine, etc.</i>	1,550,000	3,000,000	4,700,000
Including United States	1,090,000	2,010,000	4,450,000
United Kingdom..	175,000	215,000	220,000
<i>Gold-bearing Quartz, etc.</i>	3,170,000	3,470,000	4,040,000
Including United States	3,140,000	3,470,000	4,000,000
<i>Brass, Old and Scrap</i>	53,000	590,000	1,420,000
Including United States	42,000	587,000	1,416,000
<i>Automobiles</i>	544,000	1,830,000	950,000
Including Australia	226,000	560,000	300,000
British South Africa ..	77,000	150,000	150,000
New Zealand	98,000	190,000	100,000
United Kingdom..	16,000	480,000	45,000
<i>Silver, Metallic, contained in Ore</i> ..	2,800,000	2,900,000	3,300,000
Including United Kingdom..	1,800,000	1,700,000	2,100,000
United States	900,000	1,000,000	1,050,000
<i>Nickel, Fine, contained in Ore, Matte, or Speiss</i>	1,040,000	1,590,000	1,830,000
Including United States	710,000	1,220,000	1,450,000
United Kingdom..	330,000	370,000	380,000
<i>Planks and Boards</i>	3,900,000	4,900,000	5,300,000
Including United States	3,300,000	4,100,000	4,400,000
United Kingdom..	325,000	450,000	480,000
Argentine	90,000	140,000	105,000
<i>Deals, Pine, Spruce, and other</i>	1,550,000	2,250,000	2,450,000
Including United Kingdom..	1,400,000	2,050,000	2,100,000
United States	115,000	65,000	80,000

TABLE 7—continued.

	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.
	£	£	£
<i>Wood-pulp</i>	1,900,000	2,100,000	4,200,000
Including United States	1,500,000	1,000,000	3,400,000
United Kingdom.. ..	310,000	70,000	630,000
<i>Printing Paper</i>	2,900,000	3,700,000	4,850,000
Including United States	2,500,000	3,300,000	4,300,000
Australia	150,000	180,000	230,000
New Zealand	105,000	90,000	140,000
<i>Clothing and Wearing Apparel</i>	1,510,000	1,880,000	1,310,000
Including United Kingdom.. ..	1,290,000	1,080,000	1,030,000
<i>Harness and Saddlery</i>	820,000	1,230,000	162,000
Including United Kingdom.. ..	340,000	782,000	154,000
<i>Hides and Skins</i>	1,590,000	1,390,000	1,470,000
Including United States	1,586,000	1,385,000	1,465,000

imports of German manufactures before the war, and that is taking no account of the greatly increased Canadian supplies of non-ferrous metals and lumber for war purposes directly and indirectly.

Canadian exports of lesser value, mostly war supplies, included dry-salted codfish, canned lobster, beef, pork, butter, sugar, whisky, horses, hay, wool, undressed furs, sole leather, coal, pulp wood, shingles, scantling, laths, asbestos, calcium carbide, fertilizers, chicle gum, old and scrap copper, and aluminium in bars, etc.

It is of interest to indicate the distribution of Canadian merchandise as exported in the three war years to Empire and other markets. It was as follows:—

TABLE 8.—WAR-TIME DISTRIBUTION OF CANADIAN EXPORTS.

	1914-15.	1915-16.	1916-17.
	£	£	£
To British Empire.. ..	43,300,000	99,200,000	159,400,000
To Allies	39,500,000	51,800,000	75,700,000
To all countries	84,200,000	152,400,000	236,700,000

Considering these and other war developments as affecting overseas resources, the Dominions Royal Commission make observations of the highest interest and importance. They say : " The success of the action achieved during the war suggests that it is expedient that the various Governments of the Empire should take steps, as soon as conditions permit, to secure the development and utilization of their natural wealth on a well-considered scheme directed towards a definite and recognized object. In our opinion it is vital that the Empire should, so far as possible, be placed in a position which would enable it to resist any pressure which a foreign Power or group of Powers could exercise in time of peace or during war in virtue of a control of raw materials and commodities essential for the safety and well-being of the Empire, and it is towards the attainment of this object that co-ordinated effort should be directed.

" We doubt whether it was realized before the war that the Empire had substantially a monopoly of the world's production or distribution of certain most valuable commodities of commerce. Even if the fact were dimly recognized, no effort had been made by the Governments of the Empire individually, or in co-operation, to use these commodities to their commercial advantage."

Canada, for example, provides much the largest proportion of nickel, cobalt, and asbestos, and, in conjunction with India, of mica ; and the Commissioners remark : " It is not difficult to imagine conditions, even in times of peace, in which it might become desirable to use the possession of these assets as an instrument of commercial negotiation. The practical monopoly of potash which Germany possesses has enabled her to exert pressure on other countries in the past, and the controversy between Germany and the United States in 1911 may be mentioned as an example of the influence which the possession of a raw material monopoly gives in commercial negotiations between two Powers. The possession of assets such as the Canadian asbestos and nickel supplies could be used by the British Empire as a powerful means of economic defence."

Thus the development of Canadian industrialism may become a matter of high Imperial and international concern,

CHAPTER VI

LOOKING FORWARD

At present rates of growth the number of the white peoples of the combined Dominions will approach equality with that of the United Kingdom within the lifetime of the next generation. A similar examination indicates a probable equality of national incomes at an even earlier date.¹

Both in population and in national wealth, therefore, the younger nations of the Empire are moving steadily towards a status of equality with the Motherland, and we may accept Sir Charles Lucas's dictum that in this as in other essential respects Canada is the Index State of all the provinces and partners of the Empire—a mirror of the whole. Clearly, then, insularity is out of date; it is time to cultivate the Empire standpoint in every sphere of thought and action.

Statistical forecasts are not without pitfalls. At best they can only be rough approximations, but, like Eastern parables, they have their uses; and it may be permitted to attempt a statistical forecast as providing some measure of Canada's place in the future expansion of the English-speaking nations. In the following table her position at Confederation (1867-71) is contrasted with her position in the year before the war (1913-14), and the comparison is carried into the future for another fifty years upon the assumption, firstly, that her population will continue to increase at the ratio of growth in the pre-war decade; and secondly, that her general economic advance will follow the movement in her population, plus such an increase in *per capita* development as is suggested by the past history of herself and the United States. In

¹ See the author's discussion of this question in "The New Empire Partnership." London: Murray, 1915.

essential respects this is a conservative calculation, for the next fifty years is pretty sure to see a greatly increased concentration of external, and especially United States, capital and labour upon the development of Canada's vast natural resources.

TABLE 9.—A STATISTICAL FORECAST AND COMPARISON.

(In Millions.)

	CANADA.			UNITED KINGDOM.	UNITED STATES.	
	1870-1. ¹	1913-14.	1967.	1910.	1876.	1914.
Population ..	3½	8	45	45	45	99
Grain crops ² (tons)	1¾	14 ³	120	6	46	113
Manufactures (£)	46	240 ⁴	4,500	1,450 ⁵	1,100 ⁶	5,051
National wealth (£)	Not known	1,350 ⁷	40,000	14,000 ⁸	9,000	39,000 ⁹

It will be seen that at the rate of growth of the pre-war decade Canada's population will fifty years hence be 45 millions; and the table shows the position of the United Kingdom and the United States in economic essentials when their populations also stood at 45 millions.

Assuming that the economic growth of Canada follows the estimated growth of the population, Canada's grain production would in 1967 be 80 million tons. But the experience of Canada herself and of the United States at what may be regarded as a comparable period of development shows the necessity for a substantial allowance for increased production *per capita*. Putting this at the conservative figure of 50 per cent., the conclusion is reached that Canada's grain production in half a century should reach 120 million tons, or slightly

¹ 1867 was the first year of Confederation, but 1871 is the first year in which the Dominion of Canada comprised the full extent of its territory.

² Wheat, rye, barley, oats, and maize.

³ 1913 season.

⁴ 1910.

⁵ 1907.

⁶ 1879.

⁷ Giffen's estimate for 1903.

⁸ *Economist* estimate for 1909.

⁹ 1912.

more than the United States grain production in the year before the war.

In virile communities the rate of industrial expansion far exceeds that of agriculture. Taking the experience of the United States as a guide, it may be assumed that the production of Canadian manufactures per head will increase threefold during the next fifty years—that is to say, reach a total value of about £4,500 millions in 1967, or £500 millions less than the value of the United States output of manufactures in 1914. The moderation of this estimate is apparent if we recall that Canada is to-day both one of the world's greatest storehouses of raw materials and the favoured field for the exercise of the capital and brain of United States industrialists. Her industrialism thus has two main sources of financial support—the United States and the United Kingdom. The United States in its comparable period of expansion had a wilderness to its north, and the United Kingdom was almost its only financial support. Moreover, it must be remembered that Canadian industrialism has, under war conditions, secured an exceptional acceleration, much of which will unquestionably be retained.

Giffen estimated Canada's wealth at £1,350 millions in 1903, when her population was 5,700,000. At the same *per capita* valuation, her wealth when her population is 45 millions would be £10,700 millions. It may fairly be assumed, however, that by 1967 the *per capita* rate will have greatly increased, for in the 62 years between 1850 and 1912 the United States population increased from 23 millions to 95 millions, and its wealth from £1,490 millions to £39,110 millions—a *per capita* increase of over sixfold. In the fifty years from 1860 the *per capita* increase was $3\frac{3}{4}$ -fold. Assuming this latter increase for the whole period between 1903 and 1967, we get £40,000 millions as the figure of Canadian national wealth sixty years hence.

There are those who from time to time predict grave trouble for Canada, arising from the comparative slowness of the French-speaking habitant to realize not only the full meaning of his Canadian citizenship but also the new place of Canada in the commonwealth of nations which go to make up the British Empire. There are also those who see trouble

in the divergence of interests between the manufacturing East of Canada and the agricultural West. Again, there are those who contemplate with nervousness the incursion of virile and forceful men and abundant capital from the centres of the United States. In the face of this ever-growing and, to the Canadian, most welcome incursion, they ask, How can Canada hope to preserve her economic identity and continue to develop her political institutions according to British rather than American ideals? They wonder whether Canadian nationhood and the type of Imperialism which Canada exemplifies may not be submerged in the tide of continentalism.

In estimating these doubts it is well to take full account of what has happened in the past of Canada. Sir Charles Lucas is a good witness to put in evidence. He says: "Read the chronicles of New France, told with so much force and such singular attractiveness by Francis Parkman, from Champlain to Frontenac, from Frontenac to Montcalm. Note the heroism and self-sacrifice of the early French missionaries; the transplantation of the Old World into the New, imported feudalism, so artificial on the banks of the St. Lawrence, yet so long-lived and tenacious; the sharp contrast between the habitants riveted to the soil and the roving voyageurs and coureurs de bois. Follow again the fortunes of Canada under British rule, from 1763 onwards. Hold Quebec with Carleton against Arnold and Montgomery, stand with Brock by Queenstown Heights or with Gordon Drummond at Lundy's Lane. Accompany Lord Durham and Charles Buller on their healing mission, and trace all that came in its train, the self-government and then the federation. Where is the making of a nation so manifest, so marked by clear and unmistakable milestones, as in Canada? Note again that, as it has been with British history, so it has been with the history of Canada: defeats and misfortunes have been blessings in disguise." ¹

Above all their differences, Canadians of every race and creed realize that Canada is a nation. This realization has carried her through all the trials of her infancy, and now her nationhood has been baptized for all time upon the sodden fields of Flanders. In the past fifty years an oncoming

¹ *Cornhill Magazine*, June 1917.

national consciousness has swept away innumerable obstacles, and its added momentum now makes it irresistible. The French Canadian has not the point of view of the man of British or American traditions, but he knows, in the words of a ruling prelate of French Canada, Archbishop Bruchesi, that under the British flag his religion and sacred liberties have been preserved as they would have been preserved under no other flag. And as for the war, the same Archbishop said recently at Laval University: "Were we defeated, Germany would secure domination on the St. Lawrence. French-Canadian countrymen, I for one do not want to be a German citizen." Germany drove Canada into her Empire tariff policy in 1897; she has now given Canadians of every origin, and not least the French-Canadian habitant, an unmistakable object-lesson of the meaning and value of Canadian citizenship.

Moreover, we may believe that the flower of Canadian manhood and womanhood—the governing men and women of the new generation—have begun to gain in this war a clearer appreciation of those ancient characteristics of France and England which are the foundation of Canadian nationhood, but which were getting blurred amid the complexities of modern transatlantic life. Every Canadian who has gone through the furnace knows as never before the immeasurable value of combined effort by the French and British—the mental alertness, artistic sense, and irresistible dash of the Frenchman, and the steady, common-sense, bulldog tenacity and adaptability of the man of British origins. It has been said of the Anglo-French Entente that its aim should not be to turn good Englishmen into bad Frenchmen and good Frenchmen into bad Englishmen, but rather that each, while maintaining his own individuality and attributes, should strive to appreciate, without imitating, those of the other. The war may carry a parallel lesson to the English and French of Canada; they may together give Canada an entirely unique status not alone upon their own continent but among the nations of the world in general.

Relations between Canada and the United States are bound to become even more intimate in the future than in the past, but here again an appeal to history confirms a

belief that this intimacy bears no threat to Canada's nationhood within the Empire. Those who know her best are most confident of the virility of her political and economic institutions. The continental tendencies of the trade of both countries were always obvious, and they have been increased during the war to a most remarkable degree. Fifty years ago the United Kingdom held 56 per cent. of the total import trade of Canada; in 1913-14, the year before the war, that percentage had dropped to 21. On the other hand, the United States percentage rose in the same period from 34 to 64. In competitive merchandise such as metal and textile manufactures the United States in 1913-14 supplied no less than 56 per cent. of Canada's importations, and the United Kingdom only 33 per cent. Canada and the United States were never better customers of one another, and yet they were never more distinct in political characteristics.

It is not alone by importations that the economic penetration of Canada by the United States is proceeding. Evidence submitted to the Dominions Royal Commission when in Canada¹ showed that since 1913 there have been established in Canada about forty branch establishments of United States industrial firms. These foreshadow an industrial expansion of increasing rapidity and extent of the United States in Canada.

The course of Canadian borrowings is another most significant indication of the growth of economic intimacy between Canada and the United States. His Majesty's Trade Commissioner in Canada presents what he calls "enlightening figures" of the relative yearly investment of United Kingdom and United States capital in Canadian Government, municipal, railway, and corporation bonds, during the last eight years.²

Up to 1911 the investment of United States capital in Canada was practically negligible, while, up to the outbreak of war, the United Kingdom supplied about 75 per cent. of the capital required for Canadian developments.

During 1915, the first complete year of the war, Canadian investments in Canadian loans increased considerably, as did also those of the United States, while United Kingdom investments declined. In 1916 there was a still further increase

¹ Cd. 8462.

² *British Board of Trade Journal*, April 19, 1917.

in the amount of United States investments in Canadian loans, while United Kingdom investments fell away practically to nil.

In 1916 Canadian bonds were sold to the value of 316 million dollars (£65,000,000), of which United States investors purchased to the value of 250 million dollars (£57,000,000).

It is a question how far these continental tendencies of trade and finance will be affected by the movement towards inter-Imperial co-operation and Empire self-sufficiency, which has been growing of late years among the nations of the British Commonwealth and must be greatly strengthened by partnership upon the battlefield. Canada has since 1897 given a substantial tariff preference to British manufacturers, and the following table shows the development that has taken place under that preferential system :—

TABLE 10.—AVERAGE ANNUAL CANADIAN IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE FROM UNITED KINGDOM AND UNITED STATES.

(Compiled from Canadian Official Returns.)

	UNITED KINGDOM.	UNITED STATES.
	£	£
1870-74	11,415,000	7,380,000
1875-79	8,553,000	9,562,000
1880-84	9,070,000	8,901,000
1885-89	8,437,000	9,442,000
1890-94	8,466,000	10,616,000
1895-99	6,671,000	13,321,000
(British Preference introduced in Canadian Tariff 1898.)		
1900-4	10,551,000	24,493,000
1905-9	15,538,000	36,547,000
1910-14	24,378,000	68,002,000

It will be observed that prior to the preferential treatment of British goods in the Canadian tariff the sales of British manufactures in Canada were steadily declining. The Cana-

dian Customs Commissioner declared that the decline would in a short space of time end in the practical extinction of the exports of British manufactures to Canada. Since the adoption of preferential rates the steady decline has become a substantial and continual increase—from an annual average of $6\frac{3}{4}$ millions to one of $24\frac{1}{3}$ millions in the last fifteen years. The course of Canadian purchases from the United States is also shown in the table for purposes of comparison, but these figures must be judged in the light of the fact that the United States supplies Canada with commodities in which the United Kingdom could not expect to compete. In 1913–14, for instance, Canada imported coal, cotton, and mineral oils from the United States to the total value of 69 million dollars (£14,000,000). These and many other commodities of lesser individual value cannot be regarded as competitive so far as British exporters are concerned.

The movement towards Empire self-sufficiency has received a decided impetus from the incidents of the war, especially the proved danger of dependence for essential materials upon foreign lands such as Germany, and the submarine menace to overseas supplies. These incidents and the general trend towards Empire partnership led the Imperial War Cabinet in April 1917 to adopt the principle of Empire preference, which, following Canada's example (1897), had already been adopted by New Zealand (1903), South Africa (1903), and Australia (1907). The resolution framed by the War Cabinet and adopted by the Imperial War Conference unanimously, is of the utmost importance as enunciating an entirely new basis of British policy. Instead of the old basis of cosmopolitanism and equal treatment for foreign as for Empire products and interests, a basis which had brought the Empire to the verge of disaster, we now get a clear enunciation of the principle of the Empire as an economic family. The resolution, which is the new charter of Empire policy for the United Kingdom, the Dominions, and India, declares: "The time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of Imperial resources, and especially to making the Empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials, and essential industries," and this policy is to be carried out by "each part of the Empire,

having due regard to the interests of our Allies," giving "specially-favourable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts of the Empire."

Thus the Preferential movement now assumes two new features. Firstly, the change of policy in the United Kingdom makes the principle of preference reciprocal as between the United Kingdom and the leading Dominions, without lessening, however, the complete control of each State over its own tariff. Secondly, in carrying out the principles of Empire preference especial consideration is to be given to the interests of France, Russia, Italy, Belgium, and other Allies, the most notable accession to whose ranks since the change of British policy has, of course, been Canada's great neighbour, the United States. In August 1917 the British Government appointed a Committee of Cabinet Ministers to formulate the exact measures by which this policy of Economic Imperialism shall be carried into effect.

Looking to the future, the year 1917 is also memorable because of the formation of an Imperial War Cabinet comprising the Canadian and other overseas Prime Ministers, as well as the Ministers of the United Kingdom. This Empire Cabinet is to be summoned at least once a year, and, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, constitutes "a landmark in the constitutional history of the Empire." It is a first step towards giving the Dominions (and also India) that voice in the control of Empire affairs which none has demanded more insistently than the Canadian Prime Minister.

In a word, the Empire has in 1917, by the will of its self-governing States, set out upon a new road. Unity in policy and in defence must be accompanied by mutual economic support. Australian spelter, Canadian nickel, Indian wolfram, must no longer be left to German exploitation, no longer be used to destroy British civilization; the natural resources of the Empire must be developed for the primary benefit of the peoples of the Empire.

Canada must, of course, live up to these new Empire opportunities. Improvidence has been as rampant as it generally is in the presence of newly-found illimitable wealth. For want of organization, thousands of tons of food are lost yearly in the Canadian fisheries—food of which the world

will stand greatly in need in after-war days. The United States, through neglect and greed, is now within sight of the exhaustion of her once vast timber resources, and yet, despite that sorry example, Canada's efforts at forest conservation fall far below her urgent needs. In recent fires in Northern Ontario six or seven lumber towns were burnt out, thousands of square miles of wood were destroyed in the Clay Bell, and two hundred lives were lost. In the words of the Dean of Faculty of Forestry at Toronto University, "no one seems able to make governments wise on this problem; it costs money to work for the future." The wastage in the agricultural life of Canada is prodigious, as any readers of the expert evidence placed before the Dominions Royal Commission can see. Most farmers remain blissfully ignorant of the elements of scientific methods of production and marketing, and it is easy to understand why the estimated salary of the farmer is only 286 dollars per annum, while that of the classes engaged in manufactures averages 437 dollars and the average payment to all railway employés is 702 dollars.[†] New methods and the supply of better education and ampler capital are imperatively needed, and it is a healthy sign that Canadian public opinion is awakening to that necessity. In the uplift of Canadian agriculture one of the most powerful factors will be cheap hydro-electric power brought to the farmer's door from Niagara Falls and the ample waterfalls which abound in most parts of the Dominion. Much of the isolation and drudgery of farm-life as formerly known in many parts of Canada can now be greatly lessened. The world will be on short rations for years to come, and Canadians are beginning to realize that their storehouse of natural wealth deserves something better than the old haphazard methods. War conditions have also shown the advantages that may accrue from a more effective co-ordinated control of the transport agencies of the Dominion on land and water—better services and cheaper freights.

The idealism and sacrifices of the war are also having a most marked effect upon the political life of Canada. Whatever is vital to a healthy nationalism—unity of purpose

[†] Dominions Royal Commission Evidence, Cd. 8459, p. 180.

between French and English and between East and West, a broader basis for religious and educational institutions—is being gradually forced to the front ; whatever is harmful—political patronage in the disposal of public offices, political corruption and inter-racial bickerings—tends gradually to lose place. It is no small thing, when we recall the strength of old political affiliations in a land like Canada, that Sir Robert Borden should in 1917 have been able to form a Union Government consisting of some of the foremost men in the ranks of Liberal and Labour as well as Conservatives.

The increased national and Imperial consciousness in the Canadian community is bound to express itself in ways that must tend more and more to upset many old-world conceptions. Canada's increased industrialism, far beyond her own internal needs, will compel her greatly to extend her manufactured exports, especially to the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Russia, Italy, China, and South America. Upon that must follow the assertion of quite a new status for Canada in the negotiation of commercial treaties, and it may well be that the participation of Canadian and other Overseas Ministers in the proceedings of the newly-established Imperial War Cabinet will lead to a system of joint inter-Imperial negotiation of all commercial treaties between the British Empire and foreign Powers, Canadian and other Dominion plenipotentiaries uniting with British plenipotentiaries for the purpose, in place of the pre-war method of what was in effect a separate Canadian negotiation, as in the case of the Franco-Canadian Conventions of 1907 and 1909. Moreover, the new relationship of mutual support which has been established between the United Kingdom and Canada and the other Dominions during the Great War would seem to establish as a principle of policy covering the whole field of administration that where there is a choice of alternative measures those measures should be selected which will most increase the productive power of the Empire as a whole and its solidarity.

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